

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LONDON 07648 01 OF 04 100853Z
ACTION EB-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
CAB-02 CIAE-00 COME-00 DODE-00 DOTE-00 INR-07
NSAE-00 EPG-02 FAA-00 L-03 SS-15 NSC-05 H-01
/055 W

-----100858Z 110688 /10

O 100843Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3675

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 LONDON 07648

FOR AMB ALAN BOYD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: EAIR, UK
SUBJECT: CIVAIR - UK PAPER ON POINTS OF DIFFERENCE IN
AIR SERVICES NEGOTIATIONS

TEXT OF UK PAPER ON POINTS OF DIFFERENCE IN NEGOTIATION
OF BERMUDA AGREEMENT PROVIDED IN EXCHANGE FOR US PAPER
FOLLOWS:

QUOTE: UK/US AIR SERVICES NEGOTIATIONS
UK POSITION ON POINTS OF DIFFERENCE - MAY 1977

1. THE UK BELIEVES THAT THE PRESENT US/UK AIR SERVICES
AGREEMENT (THE "BERMUDA AGREEMENT") DOES NOT PROVIDE A
FAIR DEAL FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM. IN THE YEAR ENDING

31 OCTOBER 1976 (THE LATEST FOR WHICH FIGURES ARE
AVAILABLE) US AIRLINES EARNED 323 MILLION POUNDS FROM
THE AGREEMENT AS COMPARED WITH 166 MILLION POUNDS
EARNED BY OUR OWN. AS WAS MADE PLAIN AT THE TIME, OUR
GRIEVANCE OVER THIS SERIOUS IMBALANCE WAS THE PRINCIPAL
REASON FOR THE UK'S DECISION TO SERVE NOTICE OF TERMINA-
TION OF THE BERMUDA AGREEMENT - WHICH REPRESENTED A
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LONDON 07648 01 OF 04 100853Z

MAJOR STEP ON OUR PART.

2. THE PRINCIPAL DEFECTS IN THE BERMUDA AGREEMENT WERE:
A. IT PROVIDED US CARRIERS WITH MONOPOLY RIGHTS ON
SOME ROUTES (E.G., US AIRLINES CAN FLY FROM
SEATTLE TO LONDON BUT BRITISH AIRLINES ARE NOT
ALLOWED TO COMPETE ON THAT ROUTE);

- B. US AIRLINES HAVE VAST "FIFTH FREEDOM" RIGHTS WHICH ENABLE THEM TO CARRY TRAFFIC BETWEEN THE UK (AND HONG KONG) AND THIRD COUNTRIES. THESE ARE NOW VIRTUALLY UNREQUITED;
- C. ON SOME ROUTES TWO US AIRLINES COMPETE AGAINST A SINGLE UK AIRLINE;
- D. THE CAPACITY PROVISIONS ENABLE THE STRONGER TO "SWAMP" THE WEAKER AND HAVE LED TO A WASTE OF FUEL AND OTHER RESOURCES.

NORTH ATLANTIC ROUTES

3. IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC - WHICH IS THE "HEARTLAND" OF THE PRESENT AGREEMENT AND WILL BE AGAIN UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT - THE US AIRLINES CONCERNED (PAN AM, TWA AND, IN THE CARGO FIELD, SEABOARD) HAVE ROUTE, CAPACITY AND DESIGNATION OPPORTUNITIES WHICH PUT BRITISH AIRWAYS AT A GRAVE DISADVANTAGE. WE ARE IN FAVOUR OF COMPETITION; BUT COMPETITION IN WHICH THE AIRLINES OF BOTH COUNTRIES ARE ON A TRULY EQUAL FOOTING.

4. THE CARDINAL POINT OF POLICY HERE IS THAT THE AIRLINES ON BOTH SIDES SHOULD HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS TO OPERATE ON ALL THE ROUTES BETWEEN PAIRS OF CITIES IN THE US AND UK. THERE ARE AT PRESENT 10 US GATEWAY CITIES. THE US TEAM HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THIS SHOULD BE INCREASED TO 22. WE CAN AT PRESENT SEE ECONOMIC JUSTIFICATION FOR NO MORE

THAN 12. BUT WHATEVER FIGURE MAY EVENTUALLY BE AGREED

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LONDON 07648 01 OF 04 100853Z

(POSSIBLY WITH SOME PHASING OF ADDITIONAL GATEWAYS) ALL ROUTES MUST BE OPEN TO BOTH SIDES.

DESIGNATION

5. LINKED WITH THIS IS THE QUESTION WHETHER ONE, OR MORE THAN ONE, AIRLINE MAY BE DESIGNATED BY ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER FOR EACH ROUTE. THE UK DOES NOT REGARD IT AS FAIR COMPETITION FOR TWO US AIRLINES TO COMPETE WITH ONE BRITISH AIRLINE - UNLESS THE CONDITIONS OF COMPETITION ARE ARRANGED IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE SINGLE BRITISH AIRLINE HAS A FAIR OPPORTUNITY TO COMPETE WITH THE TWO US AIRLINES COMBINED. WE BELIEVE THAT "ONE AGAINST ONE" MAKES THE BEST SENSE. EXCEPTIONALLY, HOWEVER, WE ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT A CONTINUANCE OF TWO US AIRLINES ON THE NEW YORK-LONDON ROUTE - SUBJECT TO CERTAIN CONDITIONS WHICH STILL NEED TO BE WORKED OUT BETWEEN THE TWO TEAMS. THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THESE WOULD BE THE TRANSFER OF ONE US AIRLINE'S SERVICES TO GATWICK. ON THE OTHER HAND THE US WISH TO INTRODUCE A

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LONDON 07648 02 OF 04 100856Z
ACTION EB-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
CAB-02 CIAE-00 COME-00 DODE-00 DOTE-00 INR-07
NSAE-00 EPG-02 FAA-00 L-03 SS-15 NSC-05 H-01
/055 W

-----100900Z 110718 /10

O 100843Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3676

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 LONDON 07648

SECOND CARRIER ON THE LOS ANGELES-LONDON ROUTE RAISES
MAJOR DIFFICULTIES FOR US. THE APPEARANCE OF A
SECOND US CARRIER WOULD BE BOUND TO REDUCE BRITISH
AIRWAYS' SHARE OF THE TRAFFIC ON THIS ROUTE AND WOULD
THEREFORE RUN COUNTER TO THE MAIN OBJECTIVE OF THESE
NEGOTIATIONS.

CAPACITY CONTROL MECHANISM

6. THE US TEAM HAS MADE SIGNIFICANT MOVES TOWARD THE
BRITISH VIEW THAT THE EXCESS CAPACITY WHICH HAS BEEN
SO EVIDENT ON THE NORTH ATLANTIC ROUTES FOR MANY YEARS,
AND WHICH HAS BEEN SO WASTEFUL OF FUEL AND OTHER
RESOURCES - THIS RESULTING IN HIGHER FARES - SHOULD IN
FUTURE BE AVOIDED. AS A RESULT OF THEIR EXCHANGES OF
VIEWS, THE TWO NEGOTIATING TEAMS ARE GETTING CLOSER
TOGETHER. BUT THE ESSENTIAL POINT REMAINS - WHAT SHOULD
HAPPEN IF IN A PARTICULAR INSTANCE (AND WE HOPE THESE
WILL BE FEW) THE TWO GOVERNMENTS CANNOT AGREE? IN THAT
SORT OF SITUATION WE WOULD HAVE NO WISH TO IMPOSE OUR
VIEWS ABOUT THE CORRECT CAPACITY TO BE MOUNTED ON THE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LONDON 07648 02 OF 04 100856Z

UNITED STATES; BUT EQUALLY THE UNITED STATES SHOULD NOT IMPOSE THEIR VIEWS ON US. THE PRESIDENT'S SUGGESTION OF ADOPTING AN AGREED STANDARD SEAT FACTOR IN EXCESS OF 65 PERCENT, FOR JUDGING WHETHER OR NOT CAPACITY PROPOSALS ARE EXCESSIVE, PROVIDES A HOPEFUL MEANS OF RESOLVING THIS PROBLEM. HOWEVER, WE SHOULD NEED TO HAVE REGARD IN THIS TO TRAFFIC CARRIED OVER LONDON.

FIFTH FREEDOM RIGHTS

7. IN THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE NEW AGREEMENT, THE UK POSITION IS THAT WITH SOME MINOR EXCEPTIONS WE NEITHER SEEK NOR OFFER FIFTH FREEDOM RIGHTS. THE US TEAM HAVE OFFERED TO FORGO CERTAIN TOTALLY VALUELESS RIGHTS; BUT HAVE ADDED REQUESTS FOR NEW AND VALUABLE POINTS. THE PRESIDENT'S OFFER TO CONSIDER EQUAL ON-FLYING RIGHTS FOR BRITISH AIRLINES IN THE UNITED STATES, IN EXCHANGE FOR SUCH ON-FLYING RIGHTS AT LONDON AND HONG KONG AS THE US MAY WISH TO RETAIN, MAY PROVIDE A SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM.

CHANGE OF GAUGE

8. BY A COMBINATION OF FIFTH FREEDOM RIGHTS AND THE SO-CALLED "CHANGE OF GAUGE" PROVISION UNDER THE OLD AGREEMENT, PAN AM IS ABLE TO MAINTAIN WHAT IS VIRTUALLY A SEPARATE AIRLINE AT LONDON. THIS NOT ONLY CARRIES ONWARD, TO DESTINATIONS IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE, PASSENGERS WHO HAVE BEEN BROUGHT ACROSS THE ATLANTIC, BUT ALSO PICKS UP UK ORIGINATING TRAFFIC. THESE FACILITIES ARE TOTALLY UNREQUITED TO BRITISH AIRWAYS IN THE US AND WE BELIEVE THEY SHOULD BE DISCONTINUED.

ALL-CARGO OPERATIONS

9. AIR FREIGHT IS AN IMPORTANT AND GROWING BUSINESS, IN WHICH BRITISH AIRWAYS COMPETE WITH THREE US CARRIERS. WE NEED TO OBTAIN A BETTER BALANCE. THE PROBLEMS OF ROUTES, DESIGNATIONS AND CAPACITY CONTROL ARE MORE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LONDON 07648 02 OF 04 100856Z

DIFFICULT THAN EVEN IN THE FIELD OF PASSENGER SERVICES; AND LITTLE PROGRESS HAS AS YET BEEN MADE.

ROUTES OTHER THAN THE NORTH ATLANTIC

10. THE UK GOVERNMENT ACCEPTS THAT US AIRLINES ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO DOMINATE THE ROUTES IN THE PACIFIC, AT BERMUDA AND IN THE CARIBBEAN. HOWEVER, REASONABLE OPPORTUNITY SHOULD BE PROVIDED FOR THE BRITISH AIRLINES

IN THE DEPENDENCIES CONCERNED TO OPERATE FROM THESE
BRITISH POINTS TO POINTS ON THE MAINLAND OF THE USA
SHOULD THEY BE IN A POSITION TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF
SUCH RIGHTS. THIS SUBJECT IS OF GREAT POLITICAL
IMPORTANCE TO THE DEPENDENCIES CONCERNED - NOTABLY HONG
KONG AND THE ISLANDS IN THE CARIBBEAN. SO FAR, HOWEVER,
THERE HAS BEEN NO DISPOSITION ON THE PART OF THE US TEAM
TO GRANT REASONABLE RECIPROCITY. THE US COULD, WE
BELIEVE, AFFORD TO BE MORE GENEROUS TO THESE DEVELOPING
TERRITORIES WITHOUT SIGNIFICANT COST TO US AIRLINES.
THE SUBSTANTIAL IMBALANCE OF EARNINGS WHICH WILL
INEVITABLY PERSIST ON THESE ROUTES SHOULD BE BORNE IN
MIND IN CONSIDERING THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE NORTH
ATLANTIC AND FOR US "FIFTH FREEDOM" RIGHTS AT HONG KONG.

CONCORDE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LONDON 07648 03 OF 04 100859Z
ACTION EB-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
CAB-02 CIAE-00 COME-00 DODE-00 DOTE-00 INR-07
NSAE-00 EPG-02 FAA-00 L-03 SS-15 NSC-05 H-01
/055 W

-----100901Z 110765 /10

O 100843Z MAY 77

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3677

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 LONDON 07648

11. THIS IS A VERY TROUBLESOME ISSUE. THE UK MAINTAINS
THAT IT HAS RIGHTS UNDER THE BERMUDA AGREEMENT TO
OPERATE CONCORDE INTO NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON. SO FAR
THE SERVICE FROM LONDON TO NEW YORK HAS BEEN BLOCKED BY
THE PORT AUTHORITY OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY. AFTER
NUMEROUS UNAVAILING ATTEMPTS TO SETTLE THE MATTER BY
THE UK AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS WITH THE US GOVERNMENT AT
THE HIGHEST POLITICAL LEVEL, AND AFTER REPEATED EFFORTS

WITH THE PORT AUTHORITY, THE MATTER HAS BEEN TAKEN TO THE NEW YORK DISTRICT COURT. JUDGEMENT IS NOW AWAITED. WHATEVER THE LEGAL OUTCOME, AN AGREEMENT GRANTING RIGHTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH SPECIFIED PROVISIONS IS OF LITTLE VALUE IF THOSE RIGHTS CAN BE NULLIFIED BY THE ACTIONS OF A LOCAL AUTHORITY.

12. IN THE CASE OF DULLES AIRPORT (A FEDERAL AIRPORT), THE SOLUTION LIES IN THE HANDS OF THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES. THE COLEMAN DECISION ENVISAGED A TRIAL PERIOD OF 12 MONTHS (WHICH IS NEARLY UP) AND UP TO A 4 MONTHS' EVALUATION AND DECISION PERIOD. THE UK GOVERNMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LONDON 07648 03 OF 04 100859Z

WENT ALONG WITH THE COLEMAN PROCEDURES DESPITE THE FACT THAT IT RESERVED ITS POSITION ON TREATY RIGHTS. IN THE LIGHT OF THE VERY SUCCESSFUL OPERATIONS OF CONCORDE TO WASHINGTON DURING THE LAST YEAR AND THE RELATIVELY FEW NOISE COMPLAINTS, THE UK GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THAT THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES SHOULD TAKE AN IMMEDIATE DECISION TO CONFIRM THE OPERATIONS OF THE BRITISH AND FRENCH CONCORDES TO DULLES.

THE LAKER SKYTRAIN

13. THIS EXPERIMENTAL LOW FARE SERVICE HAS RECEIVED RENEWED SUPPORT FROM THE UK GOVERNMENT. A MEMORANDUM REQUESTING THAT THE CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD SHOULD PROMPTLY ISSUE A PERMIT WAS DELIVERED TO THE US AUTHORITIES ON 18 FEBRUARY. THIS ISSUE WAS PREVIOUSLY DEALT WITH OUTSIDE THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE NEW AGREEMENT; BUT AT THE LAST ROUND US DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION INTRODUCED IT INTO THESE NEGOTIATIONS AND INDICATED ITS SUPPORT. WHAT IS NOW WANTED IS A SPEEDY DECISION BY THE PRESIDENT TO ISSUE THE PERMIT UNDER THE EXISTING

AGREEMENT AND PROMPT AGREEMENT ON THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS, SO THAT THIS USEFUL SERVICE, WHICH WILL GREATLY BENEFIT THE LESS WELL-OFF MEMBERS OF OUR TWO SOCIETIES, CAN START.

TARIFFS

14. THIS IS A SPECIALISED BUT VERY IMPORTANT AREA. MUCH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE BY THE TWO NEGOTIATING TEAMS TOWARDS AGREEING A NEW TARIFFS ARTICLE WHICH SHOULD GET RID OF MANY OF THE DISPUTES WHICH HAVE OCCURRED, PARTICULARLY IN RECENT YEARS, OVER THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EXISTING ARTICLE IN THE BERMUDA AGREEMENT. THE NEGOTIATING TEAMS ARE TRYING TO RESOLVE THEIR REMAINING DIFFERENCES IN THIS AREA.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LONDON 07648 03 OF 04 100859Z

VALIDITY

15 MUCH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN DRAFTING THE FORMAL
TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. WE SHALL. ASSUMING WE REACH
OVERALL AGREEMENT, HAVE A MUCH BETTER DOCUMENT WHICH,
LIKE THE ORIGINAL BERMUDA AGREEMENT, WILL PROVIDE A

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LONDON 07648 04 OF 04 100905Z
ACTION EB-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INSE-00
CAB-02 CIAE-00 COME-00 DODE-00 DOTE-00 INR-07
NSAE-00 EPG-02 FAA-00 L-03 SS-15 NSC-05 H-01
INRE-00 /055 W

-----100913Z 110880 /10

O 100843Z MAY 77

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3678

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 LONDON 07648

PATTERN FOR THE REST OF THE WORLD TO FOLLOW.

16. BUT IT IS VITAL TO THE UK THAT IN THE NEW AGREEMENT
APPROPRIATE PROVISIONS SHOULD BE MADE TO ENSURE THAT
THE BARGAIN STRUCK BY THE NEGOTIATORS IS NOT LATER FRUS-
TRATED BY THE DOMESTIC LAWS AND PROCEDURES OF THE US.
WE ARE HERE THINKING OF THE REPEATED DELAYS IN THE
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE ISSUE OF PERMITS BY THE CIVIL
AERONAUTICS BOARD, THE EXERCISE OF POWERS BY LOCAL LAW-
MAKING AUTHORITIES, (E.G., THE PNYNJA IN THE CASE OF
CONCORDE), ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE STATE TAXES ON BA, AND THE
LAST MINUTE UNILATERAL INTERVENTIONS IN THE MATTER OF

FARES AND RATES BY THE CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD. IN THE VIEW OF THE UK, PROVISION SHOULD BE MADE IN THE NEW AGREEMENT TO AVOID THESE DIFFICULTIES IN THE FUTURE AND ALLOW FOR FAIR COMPETITION WITHOUT THE UNWARRANTED OVERLAY OF US DOMESTIC LAW WHICH FRUSTRATES AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT, AND ALWAYS WORKS TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF THE OTHER SIDE.

CHARTERS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LONDON 07648 04 OF 04 100905Z

17. DESPITE DIFFICULTIES ARISING FROM OUR OTHER INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS IN THIS AREA, THE UK HAS MOVED SIGNIFICANTLY TOWARDS THE US GOVERNMENT'S POINT OF VIEW ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR NORTH ATLANTIC PASSENGER CHARTER SERVICES; AND IN PARALLEL WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE NEW AIR SERVICES AGREEMENT A MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING ON THIS SUBJECT HAS BEEN SIGNED COVERING THE PERIOD UP TO 31 MARCH 1978. BOTH PARTIES ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT THIS MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING SHOULD BE EXTENDED (AND FROM TIME TO TIME AMENDED) AS NECESSARY AND THAT THERE SHOULD BE A REFERENCE TO IT IN THE NEW AIR SERVICES AGREEMENT. BOTH HAVE IN MIND THE NEED TO BENEFIT THE LESS WELL-OFF SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY AND SATISFY THE GROWING DEMAND FOR LOW COST TRAVEL BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND
5 MAY 1977 UNQUOTE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CIVIL AVIATION, NEGOTIATIONS, AIR SCHEDULES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 10-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977LONDON07648
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770163-1208
Format: TEL
From: LONDON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770575/aaaacmne.tel
Line Count: 420
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 32174597-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EB
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2585196
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CIVAIR - UK PAPER ON POINTS OF DIFFERENCE IN AIR SERVICES NEGOTIATIONS TEXT OF UK PAPER ON POINTS OF DIFFERENCE IN NEGOTI
TAGS: EAIR, UK, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/32174597-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009